1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF 12

635 of government policy in financial and economic matters. Another resolution supporting the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and the alliance between the two nations was passed. Approximately 1,800 proposals were received. They can be classified as follows: concerning production and construction - 654; finance and economic s - 394; education, culture, and health - 385; political matters - 308; public safety - 66; military affairs - 9. Many of these proposals were combined until the total was reduced to 654. Of these proposals, those considered as future tasks or having to do with financial arrangements were grouped together for further study. Those which could be handled by the provincial government were submitted to the departments concerned. Only seven proposals were rejected as being against the laws and decrees of the Central People's Government.

IV. THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL STAGE

642 An electoral law for the People's Congress
• 666 on all levels was promulgated on March 1, 1953.

The National People's Congress scheduled for September 1954 was preceded by the

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF 12

666 election of deputies to the provincial, municipal,
642 county, and hsiang people's congresses. According to the Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China, delegates to the National People's Congress and deputies to the people's congresses of a province, a county, and "a municipality divided into districts" shall be elected by the People's congress on the next lower level.

Before the convening of the National People's Congress, the provincial governments were busy with census-taking, registration of voters, direct elections of delegates to the congresses at the hsiang and municipality or municipal district levels, and meetings of these and succeedingly higher congresses as they were brought into being. On September 15, 1954, the National People's Congress met for the first time, and on September 20 the new Constitution was passed. In addition, a statute for the organization of the local People's congresses on all levels and the local People's councils was published. This statute delineated the structure of the provincial governments.

A. General Provisions Concerning the Provincial Government

635 Under the Constitution, the provincial governments have been placed on a new basis. Each province has the status of an administrative

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF 12~~ AF 12

635 People's council and the provincial People's court; (9) to revise or annul inappropriate decisions and orders of the provincial People's council; (10) to revise or annul inappropriate decisions of the People's congresses of the next lower level and the inappropriate decisions and orders of the People's councils of the next lower level; (11) to protect public property, maintain public order, and safeguard civil rights; (12) to ensure the equal rights of minority nationals; and (13) to recall the members of the provincial People's councils and the president of the court, elected by it.

635 666 The members of the provincial People's congress are elected by the congresses in the counties and municipalities, rather than directly by the people of the province. The number of members elected is determined by the population and the number of counties within each province, as stipulated by the Electoral Law of the People's Congress:

> "A province with a population not exceeding 20,000,000 shall elect from 100 to 400 deputies; with a population exceeding 20,000,000, from 400 to 500 deputies. In a province where the population and the number of counties is exceedingly small, the number of deputies may be less than 100 but not less than 50; where the population and the number of counties

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF 12

635
• 666

are exceptionally large, the number of deputies may exceed 500 but must not exceed 600..."

"A county with a population not exceeding 200,000 shall elect one to three deputies; a county with a population exceeding 200,000 and not more than 600,000 shall elect two to four deputies; a county with a pop lation exceeding 600,000 shall elect three to five deputies. From the municipalities, towns, and important industrial and mining districts within the province, one deputy shall be elected for every 20,000 population."

These principles give the two provinces of the North China Region the following quotas of delegates to the National People's Congress:

635
.666

Delegates to the National People's Congress

Province	No. of Delegates	Population	No. of Counties	No. of Provincial Municipalities	No. of Hsiang
Hopei	568	35,984,644	143	11	11,346
Shansi	315	14,314,485	95	5	6,394
Peking Municipality	264	2,768,149			
Tientsin Municipality	519	2,693,831			

1:Stanford U. S-4/5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF 12

635 When the local People's congresses
666 were convened, they first elected the delegates to be sent to the People's congress on the next higher level. Only after the National People's Congress ratified the constitution and the laws of organization of the People's council and the People's congress on all levels did the members of the provincial and county congresses know what their duties were to be, the number of persons to be assigned to local government, and the number of persons they were entitled to elect.

B. Operation of the Provincial Government of Hopei

635 Because the Provincial People's Congress chooses delegates to the National People's Congress in Peking, the former must be convened first. In Hopei, the Provincial People's Congress held two sessions. At the first session, August 1-8, 1954, delegates were elected to the National Congress. At the second session, February 1-5, 1955, provincial government officers were elected.

Some 568 members attended the first session of the Provincial People's Congress of Hopei. Ma Kuo-jui, second secretary of the Communist Party of Hopei, spoke on the constitutional draft, which was later debated.

CHAPTER III. ELECTION OF MINOR PARTIES

I. ELECTIONS

665 666 Between April 1953 and July-August 1954, the nationwide election which produced the Peoples' congresses at all levels was held in the North China Region between April 1953 and July-August 1954. The election was conceived as having two functions strange to Western students: first, it provided an excellent channel for government propaganda, with no choice of political platforms. Secondly, it was the occasion for political "struggle" to liquidate the opposition and eliminate the unwanted.

A. The Election Committee Article 3 of the Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China,[68] stipulates that "deputies to People's congresses of a province, county, or municipality divided into districts shall be elected by a like Peoples' congress of a hsiang, town, municipal district, or municipality not divided into districts, shall be elected directly by the electors." The electoral law also provides for the establishment of election committees to conduct elections at all levels down to hsiang. Members of a Committee are appointed by the People's government at the next higher level.

68. The Electoral Law of the Peoples' Republic of China for the All-China Peoples' Congress and Local People's Congresses of all Levels, Peking Foreign Language Press, 1953.

665 The function of the Hsiang Committee was
666 defined as follows in a directive issued in April 1953 by the Central Election Committee.[69] First, the chairman of the committee was to be appointed from the higher level. Second, the committee was to delimit electoral districts. Each district was to have a population of at least 200 and to elect two or three representatives. Third, a voter-qualification examination board was to be set up. Only those who passed the examination were to receive an electoral certificate. Committees at the hsiang level were in a position to control the selection of candidates through negotiations between the representatives on the Committee of the Communist Party and of mass organizations. While the elections to the People's congresses above the county level must be conducted by secret ballot, the election of deputies to the People's congresses of a hsiang, town, municipal district, and the election of a town deputy to a county People's congress may be conducted either by a show of hands or by secret ballot (Article 55). In the latter case, election meetings were held under the supervision of the election committee and every effort was made to force full participation. An average participation of 80 per cent was reported throughout this region.

Elections at county or hsiang levels were more successful in the North China Region than in any other region, largely because of the experiences gained in the past and the relatively stable political conditions existing in this region. A

69. People's Daily, April 6, 1953, p. 1.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
~~AF 12~~ AF 12

large number of electoral officials were trained; 1,378 of these trained personnel were organized into teams and sent to assist in the election in 21 counties in Shansi Province alone.[70] 665 666

In the cities, the reallocation of election districts and the examination of voters' qualifications were the two most tedious tasks involved in the election. Generally, the reallocation of election districts was based on the distribution of public sub-stations and the examination of voters' qualifications was entrusted to urban inhabitants' committees. However, in both tasks the public sub-station played the decisive role. Similar problems occurred in the villages, but simpler rural conditions made the tasks easier.

The composition of the People's congress at hsiang and ch'ü (within a city) levels showed the dominant position of the Communist Party and the working class. One report indicated that 8,729 out of a total of 19,379 People's representatives elected from 17 counties in Shansi were Communist Party members. In the mining town of Yang-chuan, among the 964 People's representatives, 42.3 per cent were workers. A similar pattern was also observed in Peking;[71] among the 1,200 representatives selected from 7 ch'ü, workers constituted 32 per cent of the total; other professions followed in this order: government personnel 15 per cent; lawyers and medical profession 15.2 per cent; engineers and technicans 14 per cent; co-operative workers 3 per cent; private industry and businessmen 9.8 per cent; religious workers 1.6 per cent, and urban inhabitants 20.5 per cent.

70. Ibid., Feb. 11, 1953, p. 3.
71. Ibid., April 25, 1954, p. 1.

665 B. Selection and Nomination of Candidates

666 Members of the Communist Party, the various democratic parties, the various People's organizations and electors not affiliated with the above-mentioned parties or organizations may all be nominated as candidates for election as deputies, either jointly through negotiation among the groups or separately by each party, according to electoral districts and electoral units. In practice, however, joint nomination is the rule and the caucus is adopted Negotiations on the nominations of candidates above the provincial and municipal level are conducted through the consultative conferences at their respective level. In counties and hsiang where such conferences do not exist, negotiations are carried out in the election committees. Whenever preliminary lists of the candidates have been agreed upon by the election committee, they are given to the electors' discussion group for approval and returned to the election committee. The final list is then published five days before the election.

C. Election Campaigns and Funds

The adoption of caucus as means of nomination eliminates the need for election campaigning. Candidates from other parties and organizations so selected must, of course, first meet the approval of the Communist Party. Once he is approved, his election is assured. If there should be any campaigning involved, it would take place only at the Party meetings and discussion group meetings, where the individual's qualifications might be

665 questioned and some interrogation might be
666 necessary. With respect to election expenses, Article 8 of the electoral law permits disbursement by the national treasury. Article 62 of the electoral law singles out bribery as an offense. Other unlawful practices, such as violence, intimidation, and fraud are offenses liable to fine and imprisonment.

II. POLITICS OF MINOR PARTIES

665 In the North China Region, minor parties are presented by their branch offices established after 1950 in the key cities in this region. The best known are the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang (RCKMT), the Chinese Association for the Promotion of Democracy (CAPD), the Democratic League (DL), the Chinese Peasants and Workers' Democratic Party (CPWDP), and the Chih Kung Tang (CKT).

As a party composed of former Kuomintang officials, the RCKMT composed of former Kuomintang leaders has the largest representation in North China government of any of the minor parties. The next largest representation is from the Democratic League. This is composed of the intelligentsia and other middle class elements, has been drafted by the Communist Party to participate in government as a symbol of coalition. The CAPD is the party of "the national bourgeoisie," meaning major industrialists and capitalists. Its service is called upon for active support in the nation's economic programs. Other minor parties having

is to be organized into a political area with a village 631
head, and several associates according to the number of families. Above this village is to be the district office under a head who serves as a link between the self-governing villages and the official county government. This district head is also the head of the local police. The election of the village head [666]• is supposed to take place at a mass meeting, but in Ching Ho only the leaders were present and no formal vote was taken, and the office was taken by the associate of the former village head, with a leader in the Association for the Protection of Green Crops, as associate head. The district head has not yet been elected, and the work is being done temporarily by the police head who is a government officer, and under the direct control of the county police office, thus destroying the very essence of self-government. In an effort to remedy such a position the provincial government has decided to open training schools for district heads, so that men may be trained to serve in their own dis tricts. Not much has been done in the matter of village self-government, except the re-establisbment of the local guard.

3. Local Party.

When we use the word "Party" we always mean 665
the Kuomintang or Nationalist Party, as that is the only Party in China at present. In November, 1928, the County Party Organnisation appointed a board of directors of three men: one standing member, one training member, and one publiciy member, to organise the members of the Party into a formal Party